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FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

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contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shï'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision."

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Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*. London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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462 294 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn. Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 292 The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After 211 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy boots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

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292 and the inside gown is exchanged for one made of finer cotton cloth, dyed dark blue, green, or violet, and long, wide extensions are sewn on to the regular sleeves. Often two or three sets of sleeves are worn, one over the other, to give the illusion that several gowns are being worn. In order to heighten this effect, each sleeve is slightly shorter than the one under it. These outer sleeves are made of three strips of cotton cloth of different colors, such as red, green, or violet. Each of these strips is separated from the other strips by narrow bands of cotton cloth of other colors, such as yellow, dark blue, or orange. To add to this display of color on the sleeves, a woman in her best clothes may wear a red embroidered collar, a pair of dark blue trousers, boots with red legs and black feet, embroidered. Under the bright blue sky of the Monguor country, and in the dry air and sparkling sunshine that prevail most of the year, this display of colors is not harsh or crude, but gives a wonderful feeling of life and happiness, especially in a large crowd gathered at a festival. When the sky is overcast, however, the display of color appears too garish; but almost anywhere in North China with its yellow loess earth, mud houses, and dust storms, the whole world appears monotonous and depressing in bad weather.

386 The old vegetable dyes formerly used by the Monguors have long been replaced by German aniline dyes, which is unfortunate because the colors rapidly fade in the bright sun. The colors also run when the clothes get wet, and consequently if a thunder shower breaks over a festival crowd there is bustle and confusion while the women take off their fine sleeves, the lower extensions of their trousers, their girdles, boots, and hats, wrap them in bundles, and run barefoot for shelter, wrapped only in their dark blue gowns. Women who have reached the age of about forty no longer wear the false outer sleeves, nor do they wear brilliant colors.

292 In festive dress, the Monguor woman also wears a skirt, of the pattern that used to be worn by soldiers under the empire. This skirt, which is handsomely embroidered, is of a pattern originally designed for horseback riding. It is slit both before and behind and hangs on the two sides of the body, swinging as the woman walks. The favorite color for festive dress is red, and the skirts of rich women are frequently made of embroidered satin or silk. At home, a woman usually wears a skirt of the same cut, but made of simple dark blue cotton cloth. While at home, a woman must wear either the gown or the skirt, and usually both; the members of the elder generation would never allow them to be seen dressed only in trousers and short jacket such as Chinese women wear.

The importance of the skirt as an ancient part of the costume is indicated by the fact that in former days all Monguor women, even those who during their lifetime wore Chinese costume, had at death to be dressed in a skirt to be laid in the coffin; the saying went that

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

• 292 "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

[294] The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her "military" skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet, or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs

292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling most formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume.

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly, are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax,[1] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[2]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 292 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[1] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[2] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

[P. 121a]

291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily
292 continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat,
302 each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1 *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown," and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xiemper. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

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FIG. 6. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

[P. 124a]

/54 cont'd/

539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funigu, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[411] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

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After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece

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of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

585 /57 cont'd/
[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride had struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and this," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[177] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons....On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 [262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while the girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is time to take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

[27 cont.]

The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Sometimes they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. -- On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[27 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 32 cont.] special forehead-band with the little bells. -- The crown is not always necessary. The images found on the five prongs are supposed to be determined by the tutelary spirit. I have also seen crowns that bear no images, but only Tibetan signs.

The crown bears five Buddha images or five death's-heads or other signs. -- The articles of clothing are procured by the shaman himself. There are also certain prescriptions as to how they are to be treated.

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[28] The equipment: The shaman must always have a sword. It is the seat of his tutelary spirit. The sword is usually two-edged. It has no colored bands. The handle is made of wood. The same rules apply for the making of the sword as for the spirit-spear. The sword is wrapped together with the crown inside the red headcloth and is placed upright in the house on his household altar. He burns incense and kowtows in front of it (1).

1. [Foreign text pp. 31-32.] In this kind of shamanism the sword seems to be essential.

It was impossible to find out in what way the sword is the seat of the tutelary spirit. It may be that it is constantly the seat of the spirit, but perhaps it is so only temporarily. The question is the same as in the case of the spirit-spear. The fact that the bands, the mirror, and the bells are often lacking argues against a permanent seat. On the other hand, one also finds swords that are provided with these. -- I once saw in a Chinese temple the sword of a deceased shaman, which

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

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1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They

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[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

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Plate I

a

b

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* 778

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--85 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer, 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guāmbasoma) in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over [783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com- [785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm [292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn- [465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãhsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kãnguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãnwu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãn.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

Sash: ġēdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõnsõn: Tib. dgon = solitude, son = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõnba: Tib. dge = virtue, slon = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãnsgur:

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bö, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776] [534] [535] [787]

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
[791] the next year.

The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[242] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[171]

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--299 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 782 752 [754] [341] [292] [534] [778] [142] a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter, "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festival, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 792 292 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring. Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death position in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photograph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

764 [171]

(continuation of text)

782 792 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire. The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] [784] [333] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards, the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P. P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

757
192 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering,
[531] but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese
[302] style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756
776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. 752 Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

752 292 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest [177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[237 cont.]

756 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly
292 the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoń or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

192 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen
756 sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuń, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuń-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoń, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

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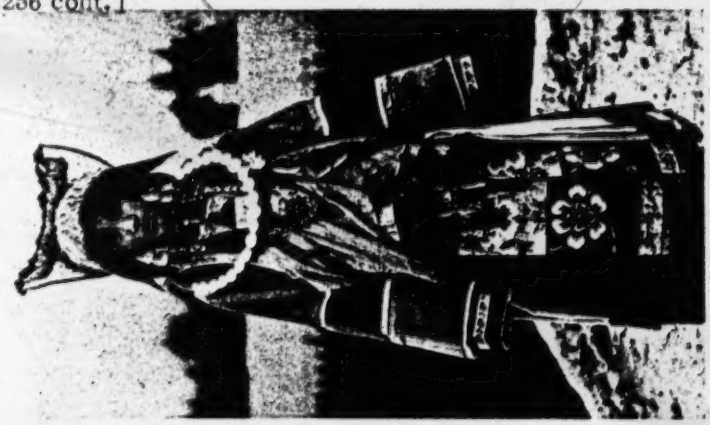

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a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguăn palace, Tuguăn-laroñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguăn mountain, Tuguăn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before the main temple, while the community read imprecations. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, are told about powerful shamans who lived in former times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall conclusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communities or private families, dresses in the same way as the Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brimless pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.
[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.
[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.
[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.
[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p. 83(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village. 756 578

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger. 756 292

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say. 756 571

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic." 756 171

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject. 114

[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear undercloth-ing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-